DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 247 178 SO 015 798

AUTHOR Serota, Gary D.
TITLE The United States Congress. What Is Its Process of Legislative Decision-Making? How Can You Assist in the Process? Grass Roots Guides on Democracy and Practical Politics. Booklet No. 66.
INSTITUTION Center for Information on America, Washington, Conn.
PUB DATE 83
NOTE 17p.; For booklet on lobbying, see SO 015 799.
AVAILABLE FROM Center for Information on America, Washington, CT 06793 ($3.00, 1-9 copies; $2.75, 10-99 copies; $2.50, 100-499 copies).
PUB TYPE Guides - Classroom Use - Materials (For Learner) (051)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Adult Education; Citizen Participation; *Citizenship Education; *Civics; *Decision Making; Democracy; Higher Education; *Information Sources; Instructional Materials; *Legislators; Resource Materials; Secondary Education; *United States Government (Course)
IDENTIFIERS Congress

ABSTRACT

Intended to help secondary and college students and adults develop a clearer understanding of how our democracy works, this booklet examines how Congress makes legislative decisions and how it collects the information necessary to legislate. With 100 Senators, 435 Representatives, and 20,000 staff people receiving and processing information, decision-making in Congress is a very complicated process. As they make legislative decisions, members of Congress use many information sources, including personal staff recommendations, constituent letters, other members of Congress, the media, lobbyists, and committee staff research. Members rely a great deal on their staffs to brief them on the details of proposals. Legislative staff must also answer constituent mail. Staffers use a variety of services, publications, and information sources, e.g., committee hearings, House Information Systems, the Congressional Research Service, the Congressional Record, and caucuses. A survey of 123 congressional staff members has shown that spontaneous individually composed letters are the most effective way of communicating with congressional decision-makers. (RM)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

GRASS ROOTS GUIDES
(REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.)
on Democracy and Practical Politics
a service of the
CENTER FOR INFORMATION ON AMERICA

ED247178

THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS

What is its Process of Legislative Decision-Making?

How Can You Assist in the Process?

By Gary D. Serota

SP 015 798

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Townsend Scudder

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

About GRASS ROOTS GUIDES:

GRASS ROOTS GUIDES ON DEMOCRACY AND PRACTICAL POLITICS are produced by **The Center for Information on America,** an independent educational corporation, nonprofit and nonpartisan, dedicated to furthering the knowledge and understanding of America by Americans through informational publications, radio, films, television, and conferences.

The purpose of this series is to encourage wider and better informed civic and political activity. It includes two types:

"How-to-do-it" Guides for successful participation, each dealing specifically with a particular political operation;

"What-it-is-all-about" Guides, explaining and examining specific features of our self-governing process, with the aim of cultivating a clearer understanding of how our Democracy functions.

Each Guide is the production of leading authorities and experts, under the general supervision of the **Center's** advisory committees:

EDITORIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE: Henry S. Commager, Professor of History, Amherst College; Richard W. Cortright, Division of Instruction and Professional Development, National Education Association; Sister Sarah Fasenmyer, Dean, School of Education, Catholic University of America; James W. Fesler, Professor Emeritus of Government, Yale University; Eric F. Goldman, Professor of History, Princeton University; Richard C. Miller, Associate Director of Programs, Illinois Board of Higher Education; Robert Spiller, Professor Emeritus of English, University of Pennsylvania, and Past-President of the American Studies Association; Charles P. Taft, Lawyer.

EDITOR: Townsend Scudder, President of the Center.

(Mr. Serota is Executive Director of the Congressional Management Foundation, Washington, D.C.)

This is Booklet No. 66

Price, single copy, three dollars.
See last page for other titles.
Copyright ©1983 by the Center for Information on America.

First Printing, 1983

THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS:

What is its Process of Legislative Decision-Making?

How Can You Assist in the Process?

By Gary D. Serota

The United States Congress is an institution which makes decisions about virtually every facet of human endeavor. From programs to put the unemployed to work to the establishment of National Grandparents Day, Congress plays a major role in determining the quality of life for more than 200 million Americans and countless others around the world.

Decision-making in an organization with such broad responsibility is necessarily a complex process. Each day, Congress is bombarded with information in many forms from many sources. This information is reviewed, analyzed, filed, stored, retrieved, lost, synthesized, disputed, verified and occasionally ignored by each of the 435 House offices, 100 Senate offices and the offices of 5 non-voting Delegates (from the U.S. Virgin Islands, Guam, Puerto Rico, the District of Columbia, and American Samoa). Information is also received and acted upon by 308 committees and subcommittees of the House and Senate, each of which is responsible for legislation in its own designated areas.

With 100 Senators, 435 Representatives and 20,000 staff people receiving and processing information, it is not surprising that decision-making in Congress is a very complicated, and not very consistent, process. Thus, to understand how Congress makes its legislative decisions — and how it collects the information necessary to legislate — one must first understand the people who comprise the Congress and the conditions under which they work.

CONGRESS TODAY

The 98th Congress, elected in November 1982 and inaugurated in January 1983, is very different from its predecessors.

Members of Congress are more highly educated today than earlier Members were. They are required to be knowledgeable about a broader range of more complex issues than their predecessors, and must function in a more demanding environment than their congressional forerunners.

They tend to be younger than Members of Congresses past, and an increasing number ran for Congress immediately after completion of their education.

As a group, they tend to be more ideological than their predecessors, more inclined to reject rigid party discipline, less dependent on their political parties than their personal organizations for electoral support, and less patient than earlier Members who traditionally would serve in Congress for years before undertaking legislative leadership roles.

Almost 60% of the Congress has been elected in the last six years. As a result, much of the power of the seniority system has eroded, and newer, younger Members have seized the opportunity to play aggressive, effective roles on legislative issues in their first or second terms. It is the rare Member of Congress today who lives by the advice of Sam Rayburn, former Speaker of the House of Representatives, who admonished new Members to "go along to get along."

"Getting along" in today's Congress means coping with a much higher level of workload. Part of this workload increase is due to the increasing complexity of public issues. Part of it is also attributable to the rising expectations of constituents who — faced with reductions in the budgets of private and local government agencies on which they relied for help in the past — now turn first to their representative in Congress for help. To an unprecedented degree, Americans today take seriously the old adage: "Write your Congressman."

This staggering workload growth is reflected in the statistics below:

- *2000% Increase in Constituent Mail:* In just a little more than a decade, the amount of mail sent to congressional offices has risen to 300 million letters in 1980 from 15 million in 1970.
- Between the 84th and 94th Congress, there was a 100% increase in the number of congressional hearings.
- The amount of constituent "casework" has increased 100% in ten years.
- Legislatively, the demands on Members of Congress and their staffs have also proliferated. The number of bills introduced has increased from 7,611 in the 84th Congress to 14,594 in the 96th.
- There has been a huge increase in roll-call votes: from 147 in the 84th Congress to 1,834 in the 96th.

Congress today is called upon to do more, and to do it better, than ever before. Effective decision-making requires an extensive information collection apparatus, and an ability to assess and act on the basis of the information received.

There is no shortage of information available to Members of Congress and their staffs. From internal organizations (like the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress) and external sources (such as lobbyists, media reports, or constituents), information is thrust at Congress in volumes which exceed the

institution's ability to absorb it. In fact, Congress suffers, not from lack of information access, but from information overload. The challenge facing Members of Congress and congressional staffs is how to effectively manage the great volumes of information they receive.

HOW MEMBERS OF CONGRESS MAKE LEGISLATIVE DECISIONS

It has been said that each of the 535 House and Senate offices operates as an independent small business, developing policies, procedures, and decision-processes to suit its special needs. The impact or influence of any single information source on a legislative decision will vary from Member to Member.

In an urban district, the mass-transit lobby may wield significant influence with that district's Representative. In a rural district, the Member may be especially responsive to the needs of a large farming cooperative. A Senator, insulated from the demands of re-election for six years at a time, may be less strongly influenced by constituent views than a House Member, who must face the voters every two years.

Generally, however, Members, as they make legislative decisions, utilize — to varying degrees — the same range of information sources. These sources include:

Personal Staff Recommendations:
The high volume of legislative workload forces Members to rely on their personal staffs to brief them on issues which will be debated and voted upon in Committee and on the House or Senate floor. Staffers often prepare a "daily bill folder" which succinctly reviews the day's legislative topics, summarizes pro and con arguments, and explains which interest groups support and which oppose the measure up for consideration.

Constituent Letters:
Despite the high volume of constituent mail Congress currently receives, most Members insist on personally reading at least some of their mail. Virtually every House and Senate office conducts "mail counts" which tabulate the number of constituent letters expressing support or opposition to controversial legislation. Personal letters are generally regarded as a more sincere expression of constituent support than impersonal communications such as pre-printed postcards or signatures on petitions. Letters from VIP's (Very Important Persons) in the home state or district are viewed with special emphasis.

Other Members of Congress:
The huge variety of issues which Representatives and Senators must vote on encourages Members to rely on guidance from their

congressional colleagues. These "voting cues" are often the only sources Members can turn to when asked to cast scores of legislative votes on issues with which they are only remotely familiar. Voting with a Member you trust on a particular issue is often the safest route when complex parliamentary maneuvers make it difficult to understand the implications of a YEA or NAY vote.

The Media:
Major national newspapers (the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Wall Street Journal*, for example) are read regularly by most Members of Congress. These publications undoubtedly influence Members as they form their opinions. However, local media, both broadcast and print, are often more influential in legislative decision-making. These outlets are read, seen, and heard at home; their impact on constituents is usually strong, and Members are understandably influenced by the impact these media may have on the residents of their home state or district.

Lobbyists:
Some Members develop close and reliable relationships with lobbyists for various interest groups. As Members grow to trust lobbyists who consistently provide reliable and accurate information, those lobbyists become influential advisors to the Member on certain issues.

Committee Staff Research:
While personal staffs are usually issue generalists who are very sensitive to the Member's home-town political needs, committee staffers tend to work in much more specialized areas. They become substantive experts in their assigned issues. They advise the Member with more substance, but are usually less knowledgeable about the political ramifications of the Member's votes.

Other factors which are likely to influence the Member's decision-process are the marginality of their re-election situation, sources of campaign contributions, obligations to colleagues to whom a favor is owed, and the degree to which an issue is politically controversial. Members are, of course, more likely to support issues on which the risk of opposition is minimal and their opportunities for visibility are high.

THE STAFF ROLE IN LEGISLATIVE DECISION-MAKING

As Members are required to vote on more legislative questions than ever before, they begin to rely more and more on their staffs to brief them on the details of various proposals. Staff recommendations, then, can become a centerpiece of the Member's decision-process.

On the House side, where staffs are small and access to the Member is frequent, voting decisions are probably based more often on the advice of legislative staffers than any other element — with the possible exception of voting cues from other Members.

Legislative staffs, however — in addition to their legislative responsibilities — are usually required to answer all constituent mail addressing the issue areas for which they are responsible. With record numbers of constituent letters arriving daily, the average congressional staff spends 55% of its total work-time simply answering mail. This detracts from the staff's ability to devote full attention to advising the Member on legislative actions.

To keep up with the full spectrum of legislative activities, staffers use a variety of services, publications, and information sources. The major information sources congressional staffs rely on are briefly described below:

Committee Hearings:
When a committee or subcommittee holds hearings on a bill or a topic of legislation, it eventually publishes the official record of those hearings. This includes the statements of witnesses, questions and answers, and an appendix of supporting testimony. Publication of hearings can take from one to six months. The index lists the witnesses in order of their appearance. In the meantime, it is usually possible to look at the committee transcript in the committee offices, but it cannot leave their premises.

These hearings records contain probably the best statements on each side of an issue that can be found in one place. The sponsors and supporters of a bill have their say and the opponents get a chance to state their case as well. Committee members probe and question while witnesses rebut and debate. It's all in the hearing record.

Committee Mark-ups:
After hearings, a session is held in which a bill is literally "marked up" — changed to answer objections or suggestions made in the hearings or by other Members. After markup, a "clean" bill is "reported out of committee" and "put on the calendar" of the Senate or House.

Committee Reports:
A committee report is a document that sets forth the committee's explanation of its action. When a bill has been considered by a committee and "voted out" to the chamber, it is accompanied by a committee report which details the committee's findings and recommendations.

In almost every case, a report favors the bill's passage and is written by proponents of the legislation. Most of the time, if a bill never gets out of committee, it doesn't get reported at all. However, sometimes

a bill is reported without a recommendation. When all the Members of the committee do not approve of the report, the dissenting Members file minority views and give their interpretation of the bill, much like Supreme Court justices file minority views. If a Member wants to add something to the record that he/she believes should be included, additional and supplementary views are submitted.

Committee Legislative Calendars:
Most committees publish their own separate calendar summarizing action that the committee has taken relative to bills introduced, public hearings held, reports filed, hearings printed, miscellaneous reports and documents issued by the committee, etc. Basically it is a compendium of committee business that's organized for easy reference and handy consultation. Some committees publish the Calendar once a month, others quarterly and some on an annual basis. They are out of date the moment they are published, as the committees continue to crank away, but are still a good reference tool.

Dear Colleagues:
These are letters from one Member to other Members (addressed "Dear Colleague"), requesting support for the first Member's legislative proposals. These are screened by staffers, who usually recommend that their bosses either co-sponsor, vote for, ignore, or oppose the proposed measure.

Lobbyists:
Veteran lobbyists understand the significance of the staff role in legislative decision-making. They focus their efforts and attention on the staff, providing them with information, answers to expected objections to a measure the lobbyist supports, and occasionally even drafts of new legislation. Effective lobbyists provide accurate information regularly. The staff grows to rely on them. But if they ever mislead or embarrass the staff or the Member, they quickly rupture the relationship of trust and reliability which the lobbyist has worked so long to develop.

Majority Whip Notice Information:
House Side. The Majority Whip of the House issues two principal documents on a regular and continuous basis. The "Whip Advisory" details the bare necessities of an upcoming bill — title, number, probable date for consideration, action by the sitting Congress, bill summary, background and cost. It's an information vehicle for the Democratic membership.

The "Whip Calendar," issued on Fridays, lays out the likely floor schedule for the upcoming week, including time of commencement, bill numbers, accompanying rules and likely adjournment.

The House Republican minority receives much of this same type of information through the House Republican Study Committee and the House Republican Conference publications.

Senate Side: Due to the more fluid nature of the Senate with its less structured floor proceedings, the Senate Majority Whip Notice is more general in nature than its House counterpart. Issued once a week, it offers a couple of paragraphs on the week's schedule and a look ahead.

House Information Systems (H.I.S.):

House Information Systems (H.I.S.) is a service, run under the auspices of the House Administration Committee, which provides computer and information support to Members of Congress, their staffs, committees, and offices of the House.

Governed by its own needs, organization, and budget, an office can decide whether to have a computer terminal in its office. The majority of the House offices have opted for a terminal and are eligible to plug into the H.I.S. network.

After an office is hooked up and trained on H.I.S. systems, it is ready to integrate this information into its daily routine. Of particular interest to Member offices is the Member Information Network (MIN) which allows access to the following:

LEGIS — (Legislative Information and Status System) By far the most popular program, LEGIS contains information concerning all the bills and resolutions introduced in Congress (93rd Congress to present).

SOPAD — (Summary of Proceedings and Debates) Offices use access to this data base for the latest floor activity including displays of debate summary, schedules, or floor proceedings.

JURIS — (Justice Retrieval Inquiry System) In this network, legal data can be obtained, such as opinions/decisions from the Supreme Court, Court of Appeals, District Court, and Court of Claims, opinions/decisions from Government agencies, and statutory and regulatory materials.

GRANTS — This system contains information concerning the federal assistance and grants which are available, as well as those which have been allocated in the past four fiscal quarters.

MBIS — (Member Budget Information System) MBIS is used to get all sorts of charts, tables and reports helpful in understanding the budget.

The Congressional Research Service (CRS):
The Library of Congress was established in 1800 to collect information and reference material for the Congress. Since then, the Library has opened its doors to the nation. However, one branch, created in 1914, continues to work exclusively as a research and reference arm for Congress, its Members, committees, and staffs. That division is the Congressional Research Service or "CRS." Staffers call CRS for everything from simple facts or statistics to requests for original research on complex studies which may require months of analysis by experts.

The Congressional Record:
Issued each day the House/Senate is in session, the RECORD contains the proceedings and debates of the previous day's activities. The RECORD contains floor action in general, debate on legislation, upcoming committee meetings, Extensions of Remarks, the next day's schedule and more.

The Democratic Study Group (DSG):
The DSG is a legislative research and coordinating organization of House Democrats. DSG's materials include:

- *Daily Report* — Issued each day, it provides a quick rundown of the day's scheduled floor business — bills and amendments.
- *Legislative Report* — Issued weekly, it provides a capsulized summary of floor action, its background, proposed amendments, provisions, commentary on who's for it and who's against it, etc. The Legislative Assistants in the office will most likely keep each week's copy at their desks for ready reference.
- *Staff Bulletin* — Issued weekly, it provides a variety of information sections to keep staff members aware of what's going on, including legislative calendar, legislation reported, hearings and markups, Members' projects, research materials, rulings and regulations, and constituent mail response.
- *Special Reports/Issue Reports/Fact Sheets* — Issued periodically on controversial issues or subjects of major import, such as the "Department of Education" or "The Oil Decontrol Controversy," this is an in-depth look at one issue. It's usually quite lengthy.
- *Record Votes* — Issued periodically, this vote compilation includes all record votes in a given period of time. The votes are listed in chronological order, with a description, a commentary and a reference section which refers the reader back to the relevant CONGRESSIONAL RECORD citation. The subject index aids in tracing issue areas to specific votes.

The House Republican Conference:

The Conference is the governing policy and research organization for the Republican Party in the House. The membership includes all Republican Members. The Conference's main product is the weekly "Legislative Digest," sent to all Republican offices. The Digest summarizes legislation scheduled for consideration in a given week. The same staff which produces the Digest periodically publishes a special issue study on such topics as social security, monetary policy, and SALT negotiations. The Republican Conference also publishes a biannual "Legislative Issues" briefing book, which covers approximately 55 issues of interest to members and staff.

The Republican Study Committee:

The Republican Study Committee is a conservative research and coordination group. It issues the following publications:

- *Legislative Preview* — Published weekly, it contains a summary of scheduled House action.
- *RSC Bulletin* — This weekly document details issues and activities of interest to Members, information sources, etc.
- *RSC Factsheet* — Published as required, it provides detailed explanations of major legislation including background, evaluation and critique of conservative concerns.
- *RSC Backgrounder* — Published periodically on current or topical subjects of interest.

Caucuses:

Paralleling the rise of outside "special interests" and their impact on public policy, the members of the House (and Senate to a lesser extent) have banded together in their own groups to advocate their own specialized interests within Congress. Organized interests can wield a great deal of power on Congress so Members decided to do some internal organizing of their own. The Congressional Black Caucus was one of the first organizations of this type and is a well-established group that initiates and supports legislation to benefit minorities. The Textile Caucus looks out for the textile industry, the Steel Caucus watches over the steel interests; and try to guess the focus of the New England Congressional Caucus. One of the newest caucus entries is the High Altitude Coalition, with about six Senate and House members who have united to press for more spending on clean air and mass transit programs to help fight the unique pollution problems associated with thin air. There are also caucuses of "classes," such as the 94th Members Caucus of House Democrats elected in 1974.

The Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report:

C.Q. is a periodical rich in information, analysis, and data on Con-

gress, the President, lobbyists, issues, voting records and politics. It's issued each week to subscribing Members of Congress and Senators and is, without a doubt, one of the most valuable reference resources on Congress.

Cloakroom Recordings:
Each party maintains a tape-recording which can be dialed by telephone, summarizing the status of bills up for floor action that day. Many legislative staffers dial the cloakroom tape first thing in the morning to check the legislative schedule and before leaving each night so they will be prepared for the next day's agenda.

"Squawk Boxes" and Closed Circuit TV Sets:
These devices permit staff and Members to monitor floor activity, speeches, and debate without being present on the floor.

THE INFLUENCE OF ORCHESTRATED MAIL ON MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND THEIR STAFFS

In 1981, the Institute for Government Public Information Research of the American University conducted a survey of congressional aides to determine which communication tools staffers considered useful, and which tools they specifically recalled relative to different types of issues. The study also examined which information sources were most credible with Hill staffers.*

One-hundred-twenty-three congressional staff members responded to the study. Major findings included:

Spontaneous, individually-composed letters are the most effective way of communicating with congressional decisionmakers. Orchestrated mail was considered effective, but less so than spontaneous constituent correspondence.

For all issues, the preferred communication methods are:
— Constituent contacts (letters, phone calls, and visits)
— Daily press coverage, and
— Government information sources

Well-done position papers are highly regarded by staffers, especially on oversight issues.

Staff apparently pay more attention to locally originated information on local issues than to general information sources on national issues.

Personal visits to congressional offices are effective only if the visitor is a professional in his or her approach. In fact, visits by uninformed amateurs relying on emotion in lieu of solid information are often counterproductive.

---

* *The chart on the opposite page reflects staff preference for various information sources, ranked in priority order by type of issue.*

HIGHEST RANKING TYPES OF COMMUNICATION
(The top 30 of a list of 96)

Average (All Issues)	By Individual Issue Types		
	General	Oversight	Local
1. Spontaneous letters from constituents	1	2	2
2. Telephone calls from constituents	4	3	4
3. Congressional Research Service	3	1	8
4. Articles in major daily newspapers	2	6	7
5. Editorials in major daily newspapers	5	5	11
6. Visits from constituents	8	9	6
7. Articles in District daily newspapers	14	8	1
8. Congressional Record	7	4	14
9. Editorials in District daily newspapers	13	10	3
10. Government publications	12	7	16
11. Orchestrated mail from constituents	9	19	10
12. Op-ed/opinion in major daily newspapers	6	11	22
13. Op-ed/opinion in local daily newspapers	19	24	5
14. Spontaneous letters from State officials	17	23	9
15. Spontaneous letters from interest groups	15	13	21
16. Telephone calls from friends	18	21	19
17. Telephone calls from State opinion leaders	21	27	13
18. Spontaneous calls from Congressional leaders	16	14	32
19. Visits from lobbyists	20	12	33
20. Position papers; information kits by mail	24	16	25
21. Phone calls from interest groups	23	20	27
22. Speaking invitations	36	18	20
23. Petitions from constituents	32	31	12
24. Phone calls from State officials	28	29	18
25. Articles in national news magazines	11	28	36
26. Interest group newsletters by mail	31	17	28
27. National television news	10	30	38
28. Visits from Washington representatives	27	15	40
29. Editorials in District weekly newspapers	44	41	17
30. News articles in District weekly newspapers	52	43	15

Among broadcast media, only national television news was regarded as more than moderately useful by congressional staff.

Issue ads were unanimously dismissed as valueless for communicating with Hill staff, regardless of the issue addressed.

To be effective, the information conveyed must be concise, easy to read, easy to digest, and based on fact, not emotion.

Congress prefers information and opinions that reach them unfiltered by third parties.

Printed information enjoys greater visibility than telephone, in-person, or broadcast forms.

Television is considered more an influence on constituent attitudes than a provider of useful information to Congress.

CONCLUSION

The U.S. Congress is just as complex and varied as the American people in their decision-making. Factors strongly influencing one Member may be unimportant to another Member, depending on political considerations, differences in constituent needs, the Member's personal interests, and a host of other factors.

However, the one element common to the decision and information-collection process in every office is a responsiveness to individual constituent opinion. This reassuring phenomenon presents a real opportunity for all Americans to communicate their views to their Senators or Representative, and to expect that their views will be seriously considered.

BULK RATES

1 to 9 copies	$ 3.00 each
10 to 99 copies	2.75 each
100 to 499 copies	2.50 each

advantageous prices on larger quantities by special quotation.

The Center also publishes VITAL ISSUES, presenting each month the backgrounds and current situation of a topic of major importance for a better informed citizenry, POPULATION PROFILES, a series on the various aspects of Demography, and CAPITAL, a series that tells you what you need to know about it. Please address inquiries to:

The Center for Information on America
Washington, Connecticut 06793

SOME OTHER GUIDES IN THE SERIES

No. 1 WHO, ME A POLITICIAN? by Donald G. Herzberg.
No. 9 THE FUNDAMENTALS OF FREEDOM, by Alan Barth.
No. 10 PUBLIC OFFICE AT THE LOCAL LEVEL, by Glen R. Peterson.
No. 11 LEGISLATIVE MALAPPORTIONMENT, by James D. Barber.
No. 14 POLITICAL BROADCASTING, by Herbert E. Alexander.
No. 20 COMMUNITY ACTION, by Lee L. Smith.
No. 21 THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE, by Virginia and James Eisenstein.
No. 22 THE CITIZEN AND POLITICAL PARTIES, by Donald G. Herzberg.
No. 26 WATCHDOGS OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY, by Karl Schriftgiesser.
No. 29 THE RIGHT TO VOTE, by Donald G. Herzberg.
No. 30 MONEY IN THE UNITED STATES, by A. Dale Tussing.
No. 31 CONSUMER'S PRIMER ON MONEY, by A. Dale Tussing and T. Gregory Morton.
No. 33 MOCK PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING CONVENTIONS, by Thomas Wolanin.
No. 38 OUR STATE LEGISLATURES, by Donald G. Herzberg and Alan S. Chartock.
No. 39 CORPORATIONS AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS, by Raymond L. Hoewing.
No. 40 PUBLIC AUTHORITIES: Devices to Finance, Construct, and Operate Public Projects — How Do They Work? by Nathaniel Stone Preston.
No. 41 THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSIONS: How Do They Work? How Could They Work Better? by Frank and Deborah E. Popper.
No. 43 U.S. DEFENSE COMMITMENTS, With a Descriptive Listing of Them, by Lloyd Etheredge.
No. 44 ARBITRATION IN THE U.S. TODAY, by Morris Stone.
No. 46 THE AMERICAN ALLIANCE SYSTEM, by Ake Sandler and Richard Burns.
No. 47 THE STATE OF THE STATES, by James D. Barber
No. 49 POLITICAL PARTY PLATFORMS: Rhetoric or Reality? by Judith Parris.
No. 51 IMPEACHMENT, by Gaddis Smith.
No. 52 FOUNDATIONS: Their Role in our American Pluralistic System, by Terry Sanford.
No. 56 BUDGETARY REFORM: Congress Adopts New Procedures, by C. Lowell Harriss.
No. 57 THE 95th CONGRESS AND ITS COMMITTEES, by Gary C. Jacobson.
No. 58 SPECIAL DISTRICTS IN AMERICAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT, by Nathaniel Stone Preston.
No. 59 THE ARMY CORPS OF ENGINEERS IN CHANGING TIMES, by Monica Sullivan.
No. 60 THE 96th CONGRESS AND ITS COMMITTEES, by Gary C. Jacobson.
No. 61 PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES OF 1980, by James Eisenstein and Robert H. Rutchik.
No. 62 PACS: What They Are; How They Are Changing Political Campaign Patterns, by Herbert E. Alexander.
No. 63 THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING CONVENTIONS OF 1980, by Joseph E. Cantor.
No. 64 THE 97th CONGRESS AND ITS COMMITTEES, by Thomas E. Cavanagh.
No. 65 THE 98th CONGRESS AND ITS COMMITTEES, by Thomas E. Cavanagh.

LITHOGRAPHED IN U.S.A.